



IMPRESSMENT.

Bolt-court, 21. August, 1833.

I BEG Sir JAMES GRAHAM to read the following letter. I have seldom seen any thing better written or more convincing. It exhibits the *practical* view of this interesting matter; and, it comes to a conclusion such as I have always come to when writing or speaking on this subject. There may, by possibility, arise cases when the sovereign power of the state may be pushed by hard necessity to resort to this mode of obtaining seamen; but these cases can only be very rare; and with regard to all cases not so very extraordinary, every argument in this letter is sound, and wholly unanswerable. It is now, in time of peace, that we should discover and adopt the means of putting an end to this crying grievance. To be sure, additional wages would amount to something; but, "*limited service, better usage, and an equitable distribution of prize-money,*" would cost the nation not one single farthing. I did, indeed, take "*a very small part*" in the debate to which my correspondent alludes; but that did not arise either from any want of understanding of the matter, or from any want of desire to see this great evil redressed. It arose from some of those circumstances, to set a true value upon the influence of which, a man must have been for some time in that House. I know well (and no man has complained more on the subject) what terrible sufferings have been unjustly inflicted by this odious system, which, if it were confined to *seamen*,

would deserve execration; but, when extended to *landsmen*, and, perhaps, left to the discretion of a boy who has got to be made lieutenant under age, is something too horrible to be contemplated without inexpressible indignation. I have seen and heard too much of these unjust sufferings, not to be as anxious as any man alive to see them effectually prevented in future; and, I have many times pointed out the very remedies suggested by my correspondent at the close of his letter; and, in addition to those remedies, I have suggested a *fair chance of promotion*, and an end being put to that poisonous patronage which has so long disgraced almost every thing belonging to the Government; and, moreover, I am satisfied, that, without an application of these remedies, we never shall dare to meet the Americans, man for man and gun for gun. I trust that the next session of Parliament will not pass over without a just settlement of this matter. A *time of peace* is the time for making the settlement: every good and sensible man in the kingdom wishes the thing to be done; and, therefore, I trust that it will be done, I would never give my consent to the abrogation of the power of the sovereign to compel all or any part of the people to come to the defence of the country, whether by sea or by land. Such power must be possessed in every state: it is founded in the principles of civil society. No nation could long preserve its independence without such power being vested in the sovereign, whether it be king, president, or whatever else. But, with regard to the cases when the power shall be exercised; with regard to the manner in which it shall be exercised; and, especially, with regard to the means of preventing the necessity of such exercise; these are all subjects for legislation; these are matters with regard to which the lawgiver is to decide; and, in our case, we ought to decide with as much speed as the case will reasonably admit of; and, whatever

be done, it ought to be done effectually. I think Mr. BUCKINGHAM entitled to great praise for having agitated the subject; and, if he did not do it at an earlier part of the session, the fault was not his. His notice of motion stood long and long enough upon the book; but it got pushed aside from those causes which it is not necessary here to describe, but which were totally beyond his control. He performed his task with great ability, and under discouragement as great as man could well have to encounter; namely, the discouragement of *inattention*; though I must do the Ministers the justice to say, that they were not inattentive to the matter.

“TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT,

“M. P. FOR OLDHAM.

“SIR,—If the newspaper reports be correct, you took a very small part in the recent debate on the horrible practice of impressment: which I suppose must be attributed to your avowed repugnance to meddle with matters with which you are not thoroughly conversant. Be that as it may, I trust, Sir, that you will afford a constant reader of the *Register*, who is also an old and unrepresented ‘*tur*,’ an opportunity of stating his and his brother-seamen’s case. The opinions of ‘*learned and constitutional*’ judges of ‘*honourable and gailant*’ commanders, may serve to lengthen an oration; but of what avail are they with regard to the real question at issue, which I take to be this: Are our seamen, in the event of a war, again to be plundered and enslaved as they have heretofore been, or not? I say, plundered and enslaved; for I am prepared, ere I finish this letter, to prove that they have been both plundered and enslaved whenever this country was involved in war; and that, too, under the pretext of inevitable necessity, the hackneyed plea for every species of tyranny to which mankind has at one time or other been subjected. To hear Lord Althorp and Sir James Graham, one would imagine that, even

“in war time, except in cases of great emergency, such as a threatened invasion, or the fact of an enemy’s fleet blockading our ports, ‘*impressment*’ is rarely resorted to; whereas, from the commencement to the close of the war, there was hardly a day passed, in which the liberty and property of seamen were not violated, and brutally violated, too. Whence came the necessity of having recourse to such an abominable practice? How is it that the royal naval service, which ought to be the boast and pride of our seamen, is, of all objects, the one to which they have the greatest aversion? It is not on account of the risk and danger of battle, because they are never backward in entering on board of privateers or running ships. Oh, no; oh, no! they have no objection to fighting; but they have an insurmountable objection to *unlimited service*; they have an insurmountable objection to *cruel usage*; they have an insurmountable objection to the partial, the very partial, distribution of the prize-money; and, finally, they cannot, for the souls of them, conceive why they should be subjected to sacrifices to which no other class of their fellow-subjects are subjected. Whatever may have been the necessities of the state, the dealers in marine stores have never yet been compelled to supply the royal navy at a price fixed by the commissioners thereof. And yet, although the poor seaman could have got from four to seven pounds a month in the merchant service, he was forcibly dragged on board of a man-of-war, and there compelled to give the state the benefit of his nautical skill for about one-third of that remuneration. Now, when the necessities of the state oblige our rulers to cut down overgrown and unnecessary establishments, our ears are assailed from all quarters with, Would you violate vested interests? Would you deprive the pensioner of the pittance upon which he has been taught to calculate, no matter as to how he contrived to merit or obtain it, whether

"meritoriously or otherwise? But, when the state wants seamanship, it must have it *at its own price*, without any regard to the commonest dictates of justice! And is it never to be otherwise? Are our seamen the only class with whom the state never enters into a contract, written or implied? Are they still to be forced from home, kindred, and connexions, for an indefinite period, perhaps for ever; and while so severed from their homes and their families, to be treated like slaves of the worst description; to be flogged for smiling at ignorance, or folly, or for looking grave upon acts of oppression? Are we still to be told, that fifteen hundred pounds a year is not too much for a quill-driver; and in the same breath, that fifteen pence per day (that includes the night too) is quite enough for those 'jolly tars,' about whom so much has been said, and a great deal more has been sung; on whom and on whose exertions we must mainly rely in the event of a war? I trust not. But we shall see. In the mean time I do hope that the Government will be awakened to the justice, as well as to the necessity, of adopting such regulations for the government of the royal navy, as will render that service acceptable to our seamen, and thereby avert that catastrophe which must inevitably result from a perseverance in the old system. LIMITED SERVICE, BETTER USAGE, AN INCREASE OF PAY, and a JUST AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZE-MONEY, are all that is wanting; but so long as they are wanting, so long will impressment be necessary in time of war.

"G. W. BUTLER.

"Aug. 20, 1833."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN

Bolt-court, 21. August, 1833.

SIR,—Say just what you please in the way of commentary on what I have said about "*education*," as it is called; but, pray, be so good as not to impute

to me that which I have *not* said; that is to say, that this same thing, called "*education*" is the "*foster-child of crime*." Take me at my word, which is this, that this book—"education" does not *tend to prevent crime*; and on this I am ready to meet you, and all the whole innumerable swarm of the advocates of what they call "*education*." And as to my consenting to a TAX being laid upon the people for the purpose of promoting this visionary scheme, I would rather have this right hand chopped from my arm. What! I consent to tax the industrious, sober, and frugal man, who, by practising these virtues is able to put his own children to school; *I tax this man* for the purpose of providing a school for the children of the idler and spendthrift!

However, I have not now time for a treatise: when I have, I am ready to maintain my opinions to their utmost extent; but, in the meanwhile, I must say, that I did not expect from you an imputation of opinions such as I never expressed. I say not this, in order to deprecate any body's anger; for, I despise the efforts of folly; but I say it because it is the truth; and because, in justice to me, you ought to promulgate that truth. I have well weighed this subject in my mind; and I am at all times, ready to maintain my opinions against whomsoever it may be, and whence-soever the contrary opinions may come. I think it an act of great weakness, on the part of the Ministers, to have suffered themselves to be "*feelosophied*" into the taxing of the people, on this account to the amount of twenty thousand pounds; and, never will I suffer any vote of the kind to pass without my strenuous opposition. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POLICE SPIES.

I HEAR that POPAY is *discharged* from the police; but the thing will not end here. A great deal more must be

done, before the public can be satisfied. I am, to-morrow (Thursday), to make a motion upon the subject in the House of Commons. The House seldom consists now of more than sixty, seventy, or eighty members present; and, therefore, to make a statement such as ought to be made upon the subject, would probably be attended as far as the House is concerned, with very little effect; and, if the Government be disposed to do what is right, as I wish they may be, there will be no necessity for any statement at all. Yet, something must be done, or said, at the least, short as the remainder of the session is, and thin as the House is, in order to satisfy the just expectations of the people. I shall say no more upon this subject, at present, except that I most decidedly disapprove of the vote of 60,000*l.* to be raised upon the country at large, on account of this police; and that I heartily concur in the sentiments of the writer of the following article, which I take from the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*.

N.B. In my last *Register*, I expressed my intention to publish, in the form of a pamphlet (price sixpence), the summary of the evidence which I published in that *Register*; but, I shall not do this, having given it to Mr. CLEAVE to publish it at the price of *three-pence*, by which means it will easily find its way into the hands of the working people. The article from the *Edinburgh paper*, is as follows. Its opinions are perfectly just: and on those opinions, a petition ought to come, when the Parliament meets again, from every town and village in the kingdom.

"We observe that petitions are beginning to be presented to Parliament against the metropolitan police. The atrocity of their conduct in the Cold-bath-fields affair will long be remembered; for it was from no want of inclination on their part that the result was not as bloody as the Manchester massacre. They did all the injury they could with the weapons with which they were furnished, and had these weapons been of a more deadly description, the consequences might

"have been awful. It now appears from the report of the Select Committee of Parliament in Popay's case, that the Ministry have been in use to employ the police as spies to attend public meetings; and Ministers have even attempted to defend this employment of them. The force is of an unconstitutional nature, and the sooner it is placed on a different footing the better. It is in reality an army kept on foot by Government, without the sanction of Parliament, though a great part of the expense of its maintenance is paid from the general revenue of the country. Lord Althorp's defence of this application of 60,000*l.* per annum was very unsatisfactory. He said it was of great importance that tranquillity should be preserved in the metropolis; it is of great consequence that tranquillity should be preserved every where throughout the kingdom; but the civil force for that purpose is left to be paid for by the inhabitants of the place or district where it is employed. The inhabitants of London are quite willing to pay the expense of such a civil force as is found sufficient for the preservation of the peace in the other cities of the empire; but they naturally object to the enormous expense of a half-military body, under the immediate direction of Government, and more especially when the men are employed as spies to attend their meetings, and break their heads with bludgeons. Hence, one fourth of the expense is laid upon those who have to bear without any assistance, the whole burden of maintaining peace officers in their own districts."

TO

SIR H. VERNEY, M.P.

FOR THE TOWN OF BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,—Generally speaking, it would be extremely inconvenient, to say the least of it, for members of Parliament to carry on what is called a "paper war," relative to matters which they ought to discuss in the House. But, you have repeatedly made charges

against me for things which did not at all belong to discussions in the House ; and things belonging entirely to me in my capacity of the writer and publisher of a public journal. This has been done by others also ; and, I must confess, that I do not see the propriety, the parliamentary right of calling members to account, of making charges against them, for what they may have done in their capacity as the writers of journals or of books. What would be thought of me, if I were to bring a charge against Lord ALTHORP on account of any agricultural regulation of his, which I might deem mischievous to the country in the way of example, such regulation not being brought before the House for the purpose of founding any motion or measure thereon ? In short, such meddling with men's private concerns, must, if it become frequent, totally destroy everything like order and harmony in the House ; and if you have, in this respect, only imitated others, your conduct is not thereby, by any means, rendered the more laudable.

For disputes of this sort the press is the proper channel ; and, that I may not enjoy, in this respect, any advantage over you, here are my columns open to you, not only as a channel through which to convey your answer to this letter, but also through which to convey anything which you may choose to write, relative to any part of my conduct, public or private, from the time that I was born to the present hour. I have heard, twice, at the least, in the House, *insinuations*, which I thought it beneath me to call upon the utterers to mould into the shape of assertions. Nothing is more unmanly than such insinuations, especially when those who utter them know to a moral certainty that they are false. It is very seldom that malignity has triumphed over me ; very seldom that it has escaped without condign punishment ; and the longer deferred, the severer has been the punishment. Such, it is very likely, I think, may be the case here also ; and, in the meanwhile, those who have been guilty of this conduct may take their reward in being informed, that their conduct,

in this respect, has been imputed to impotent spite ; and has, therefore, excited nothing but contempt in the public.

Far be it from me, sir, to impute this species of motive to you. I impute no bad motive to you ; but, in my own defence, I must say, that I impute to you very gross error in accusing me of a desire *to set the poor against the rich*, and, specifically, of having *pointed out to the incendiary where to apply the torch*. It is truly curious, that, the passage from my writings which you read in *proof of the former*, forms part of an article, for which the present Ministers prosecuted me, and in which prosecution they were defeated and I was triumphant ; and, it is, if possible, still more curious, that the passage which you read from those writings, *in proof of the latter*, forms part of an article, which I read and put in as evidence at the trial, *in order to show that my intention was innocent*, in publishing the article for which I was tried !

Now, sir, this is quite enough to prove to you, that you have been in error about this matter. The truth is, as I told you on the first occasion, you think evil of my actions, at least of my writings, not because you have read those writings, but because you have not read them ; not because you yourself, upon examination and reflection, think them mischievous, but because you have been told so by newspapers, and by gabblers of politics, not seeming to reflect, that about an eighth part of the people live in idleness, and unjustly so live on the labour of the other seven parts ; that it is this eighth part only that you hear ; and that nature is no longer nature, if they do not hate me more than ever rat hated cat.

Sir, I deny that I ever either attempted or desired to set the poor against the rich ; I deny, that I ever inculcated the notion, that the rich were naturally the enemies of the poor ; I deny, that I ever endeavoured to teach the ridiculous doctrine of equality either in rank or estate ; I deny that any teachings of mine ever were intended, or had a tendency, to make poor men believe, that there ought to be no ranks or gradations of



society; I deny, that I ever inculcated the notion, that there was to be found in the whole world a better form of government than that of King, Lords, and Commons: all these things I deny, and I defy any man living to prove that the denial is not true.

If, indeed, to insist that it is not just to make the widow and children and other relations of a tradesman pay legacy, probate, and administration duty on effects descending to them on the death of a father, or a husband, while the effects (being real estate) which descend to the family of a land-owner are wholly exempt from those duties; if to contend that it is unjust to make the poorer part of the people pay, in fact, 200 per cent. on their drink, while the richer part pay, not thirty per cent. on their drink; if to contend that it is most monstrously wicked to maintain the relations of noblemen and gentlemen by pensions and sinecures for which they have done nothing, and to tax the working people for the means of doing this, while those working people are compelled (if at all able) to maintain, not only their own children, but their grand-children, great-grand-children, and their grand-fathers and grand-mothers, in case any of these should stand in need of any relief: if thus to contend, be to set the poor against the rich, not only have I done this, but do it I shall to the last hour of my life, unless these monstrous wrongs be sooner redressed.

And, sir, who is the real friend of order, of law, of peace, and of the inviolability of property? Is it he, who, taking reason and justice for his guide, thus openly contends, thus calls upon the Government to redress the wrongs while yet there is time; or, is it he, who, from whatever motive, vainly attempts to hide the huge and hideous deformity, and thereby does his best to prevent all redress, until it be too late to assuage the boiling and just resentment of the people?

Leaving you, sir, to answer these questions, if you choose; or to make any new charge against me that you may think proper; offering you these

pages as a channel for anything that you may please to write upon the subject, well knowing that you will use no language unbecoming your rank and station; assuring you that that which has passed will leave no impression on my mind, other than that of a hope that you may more justly appreciate my motives for the future; and, in the language of the prayers which we daily repeat, trusting that we shall "lay aside all *prejudices* and partial affections," and that we shall steadily pursue the path pointed out by what we deem to be the good of that country, which it is our duty to serve to the utmost of our power; with these sentiments I conclude, very sincerely subscribing myself,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

BEER BILL.

THIS bill contained a provision compelling the venders of beer to find six vouchers for character in the parish, and raised the license from two pounds to five. It is laid aside until the next session; that is to say, until the day after the day of judgment; for never will there be a House of Commons at once so unjust and so stupid as to pass such a bill. It was contrary to the recommendation of the committee, in the first place, and it was founded on evidence the most monstrously false that ever was given in this world. If you believe this evidence, you must believe that the beer-houses have produced poaching, larceny, burglary, arson, fornication, adultery, *bastardy* and *premature marriages*! In this mannerly and loyal age, one might have expected *bastardy* not to be regarded as so very heinous an offence. In antiquity, SARDANAPALUS had no bastards, I believe, but he lined his carpets with tissue of gold, and shut himself up with a set of devils, some male and female, that were, at last, all knocked on the head with himself. So that a man may be

a despicable tyrant and oppressor, without having any bastards. But what perverse things these beer-houses must be to produce, at one and the same time, *bastards* and premature marriages; the MALTHUSIAN "moral restraint," and a hasty desire to enjoy conjugal felicity! In short, never was there such a heap of lies collected together in one book, except the book of the poor-law commissioners, who, to a certainty, surpass all the rest of mankind in this respect; but whose schemes will be blown into very thin air before this day twelve-months. Very well that this bill was stopped: nothing in this world so certain to have produced another batch of riots. From this we have escaped by the prudence of the Minister; and, I trust, that we shall not be exposed to it again. The repeal of the malt-tax is the only way to put an end to all the disputes about this matter; and that repeal we may, I trust, confidently expect early in the next session of Parliament. I cannot help inserting here a copy of a petition of nearly eight hundred farmers of the county of Somerset, presented the other day by Mr. TYNTE, one of the members for that great and fine county. It is as nice a petition as I have ever seen: and this is, indeed, the great grievance of the country. The house and window taxes ought to be repealed; but it is a mere nothing compared with the malt tax. The malt tax costs the people *thirteen millions* a year, while the Treasury receives only about four millions and a half. Maltsters deny this; but the maltsters do not calculate as I calculate: they imagine that all the restrictions will remain after the tax is taken off. Of about seventeen hundred persons put in jail, during the last year, for smuggling, a very large part were put there through the malt tax. It is a savage tax; an insulting tax; and, until it be repealed, no man ought to be content, except one who lives upon the tax. Malt is the great blessing of the country: it is of more importance than the flour, or, than any other one article of human consumption. The tax is the curse of the country; and there never

can be either peace or happiness as long as it shall remain. While this tax lasts, working men have *no home*; no fireside; no family; they are driven to prow about for drink like cattle in a dry summer. In short, this tax must be repealed, or we must prepare ourselves for everlasting strife, and everlasting confusion. Tax the wine, tax the spirits, tax the sugar, tax the tea, tax anything but the malt. It is, in fact, not a tax; but a most infamous monopoly. The petition is as follows, to the prayer of which I say Amen.

"To the honourable the Commons of
"Great Britain and Ireland in Parlia-
"ment assembled.

"The humble Petition of the un-
"dersigned inhabitants of the
"county of Somerset,

"Showeth,—That your petitioners
"have been taught to entertain a hope
"that your honourable House would,
"ere this, have afforded them some
"relief from their great burdens.
"That having been hitherto disap-
"pointed in that hope, they think it
"their duty to remind your honourable
"House, that, in their opinion the time
"is come, when something of *substan-*
"*tial benefit* should be done for the
"people; and the sincerity of profes-
"sions be tried by the test of practice.
"They farther state, that, at a time
"of unexampled depression of the ac-
"tive and laborious classes of the com-
"munity, there is no tax, which, in
"their opinion, operates more inju-
"riously on industrious men, and more
"seriously curtails their comforts, than
"the MALT TAX, since, by doubling
"the price of malt, it deprives many
"families of the power of brewing, and
"very grievously raises its cost to all;
"while, by limiting the demand for
"barley, it causes a great stagnation in
"the trade in that grain, diminishing,
"and, in many instances destroying,
"the farmer's profits, and operating no
"less perniciously on the comforts and
"social condition of the trading and ma-
"nufacturing people.

"Your petitioners therefore, implore
"your honourable House to take these

"things into your immediate consideration with a view to afford some of the often-promised relief to the country by the speedy repeal of the malt tax. And your petitioners will ever pray.
"782 signatures."

BANK CHARTER.

THIS measure has passed, with all the opposition that I was able to give to it, to the very last vote. When it has passed the royal assent, there will be a law to declare, that my prophecy of 1819 was true. And now I will proceed by letter.

TO MR. GEORGE WOODWARD, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

Bolt-court, 22. August, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—The prophecy is now, by law, declared to be fulfilled. You remember, that, in 1819, in the fall of the year, I went from my house to have a gossiping frolic with you, at that spot which I baptized by the name of "GRASSHOPPER LODGE;" the grasshoppers being so abundant, at that time, as actually to eat up all the grass, and all the weeds into the bargain: you remember, that I took with me PEEL'S BILL, and the report of the committee of which PEEL had been the chairman: you remember, that, stripped in our shirts, and without stockings and shoes, and those shirts unbuttoned at the collar, how we sat and sweated and laughed, while your brother CHARLES read the report and the minutes of evidence of that committee; and, you remember, that we unanimously agreed, that, if that bill ever went into full effect, we would consent to be taken from the gentle stew in which we then were, and laid upon one of CASTLEREAGH'S gridirons, while SIDMOUTH should stir the coals, and CANNING stand by and make a jest of our groans: this bargain, which I moulded into a prophecy, and put it into print the next week, is now, by law, declared to be fulfilled. *Peel's Bill* was stopped from going into effect in 1822. Its two great objects were, to put an

end to one-pound notes, and to put an end to all legal-tender: the bill of 1822 prolonged the existence of the one-pound notes all over the kingdom: they have, since that, been abolished in England; but have always been kept up in Ireland and Scotland; and now we have a law to make bank-notes a legal-tender in reality: we are again about to be launched in the uncertain sea of paper-money; and it is impossible for any human being to foresee the ultimate consequences.

But, notwithstanding the mischiefs of *Peel's Bill*, it has, unintended by its authors, produced great good, given us a glimpse through the gloom, and inspired us with hope that better days are in store. You remember that, as soon as I got PEEL'S BILL, and at "*Grasshopper Lodge*," upon this very occasion, I said, "I will now go back to England: the fools have smitten themselves to the heart; the borough-tyranny must now go to pieces." You remember the supplications of my neighbours not to come back, saying that I should certainly be destroyed if I did. You remember my answer: "No; I know the disposition of the monsters; but the tiger has been fool enough to cut off his own claws, and file down his teeth. No longer a life of joy and of revelry for him: he will now reel along amongst troubles, snapped at by every dog, and pecked at by every bird of the air; or, by an effort to return to his former state, he will plunge into death at once." Thus it has been. The system reels along; every day of its existence it becomes feebler and feebler.

It was PEEL'S BILL, and that bill alone, which produced the reform of the Parliament. The demand for reform, on the part of the people, was ten thousand times more strong in 1817 than it was in 1830. But, at the former period, paper-money was keeping up prices; and then, dungeons and gags were at our service instead of a Reform Bill. The reform was produced immediately by the fires; the fires were produced by the misery of the agricultural labourers; that misery was produced,

not by the *injustice* of the gentlemen, the farmers, and the parsons of the country, but by their *inability* to provide well for the labourers; that inability was produced by their being compelled to give the fundholders, and other tax-eaters, two bushels of wheat instead of one; and their being compelled to give two bushels of wheat instead of one *was produced by* PEEL'S BILL: therefore, it was PEEL'S BILL which produced the reform, and which brought me from "*Grasshopper Lodge*," in *Long Island*, and gave me a seat in the House of Commons, on the same bench with the renowned author of that bill, and that has enabled me, rising from that bench, to stand up in that House, and claim the merit of the prophecy.

So that, after all, this PEEL'S BILL is not a thing for us "to sneeze at." To be sure, these consequences were not *intended* by its authors, who were mere blind instruments in the hand of a gracious Providence; but still we are not to be angry with them; and have only to take care not to confide in their judgment for the future. You will observe that certain predictions have now been made by Lord ALTHORP and Mr. POULETT THOMSON; namely,

1. That this legal-tender measure will *not produce depreciation*.
2. That it will not produce a general rise of prices.
3. That they can regulate the quantity of paper, so as to prevent depreciation, by *attending to the state of the foreign exchanges*.

These are statements to be *remembered*, observe. With regard to the latter of the three, I deny it: I know that they cannot prevent depreciation by attending to the foreign exchanges. With regard to the two former assertions, which, in fact, are one and the same, I do not pretend to know what will be the result; but, my argument is this; that the measure will afford *no relief*; or, it will produce *depreciation*. So that, either great disappointment to the nation must come; or, there must be a general virtual violation of contracts, and an indirect reduction of

the interest of the debt. On the third reading of the bill, I moved for its being read *that day six months*. On a division there were 25 who voted with me, and 97 who voted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, every man of which 97, the Chancellor and Mr. POULETT THOMSON excepted, did, I firmly believe, expect from the measure great depreciation of money, and a consequent great rise of prices: so that, here the world has had to witness, in this assembly, whose proceedings really affect all the world; here the world has had to witness this strange spectacle; 97 members voting with the noble Lord, because they believed him to be in *error* as to the effect of his measure; and the same 97 members voting against my amendment, because they believed my opinions to be correct.

However, here we are, just launching forth into the sea again, and, in all likelihood, destined to encounter fresh storms and buffetings; fresh ups and downs; more laws about the currency; and, having nothing in this world to rely upon for safety, but the unsubduable industry and the inextinguishable integrity and mutual confidence of the people. No man can tell what is to be the end of this paper-money: it is possible that it may let the thing down by degrees, without producing convulsion; but (and you know it well), it is possible that it may go to pieces at last, amidst the conflict of claims and the wreck of all the laws of property. Before I dismiss this matter, I must mention to you the curious circumstance of the Messrs. ATTWOOD and all the partizans of paper-money, voting with the Chancellor of the Exchequer who had so severely condemned their paper-money projects. So that they will be disappointed, at any rate, if the noble Lord's views should turn out to be correct. Indeed, and I assure you of the fact, that I have not spoken to one single gentleman who voted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has not declared in the most undisguised manner, that he would not have voted for it, if he had not expected it to produce a rise of prices. Thus, then, stands

this matter; and you will have your eye upon the workings of the measure.

I thank you for the book of Mr. GOUGE, who, I say, ought to be called GUGGER. I have published it with an introduction of my own, and with a dedication to the Speaker of the House of Commons, price *four shillings*. Mr. GOUGE's *philosophy*, and also his logic, and his grammar, are very bad: he seems to be a poor soul of an author; or, to use the negro-term, a "*souly*;" that is to say, a poor pitiful soul. But, he has grubbed about, whether by thumb-nails or finger-nails, and raked together a great mass of *very valuable facts*. Though these facts are presented to us pell-mell, as if shaken out of a bag, they are before us; they show us, that even the absence of taxation cannot prevent poverty and crime from sweeping over a country, which suffers itself to be afflicted with that dreadful curse, called *paper-money*. Therefore, I have entitled the book, "*THE CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY AND BANKING*." Mr. GOUGE calls it, "*A short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous Effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the Industrious Classes of the Community*." I have sent a copy of the book to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the book ought to be read, not only by every Member of both Houses of Parliament, but by every landowner, every merchant, and every manufacturer in England; for, in this book we see, that ruin and beggary can be produced throughout a country, without taxes to any considerable amount; and that, too, without any design on the part of the paper-money-makers themselves: here we see the happiness and morals of a country absolutely destroyed; we see crime come and overspread a country, where innocence and security formerly reigned with unbroken sway. Now, here is a lesson which every English gentleman should read, and well ponder upon: the lords and great landowners, above all men, ought to look well to this. The industrious part of the nation *suffer*; but their sufferings have their

limits. To the great landowners, destruction complete may come from this source of inexhaustible mischief. If paper-money have ruined the landowners and farmers in America, what may it not do here! Some think, that the debt may be got rid of in reality, by depreciation of money. Ah! let the great landowners take care how they entertain that hope! That is a very delusive hope: if the debt be expunged in *that way*, I would not give much for their estates.

Now for another matter. To my utter astonishment our Government has sent out persons to inquire into the effects of the excellent prison discipline in the United States. Not one single creature will they come nigh, except by mere accident, who will not stuff them with lies; and we here shall have to pay for a budget of trans-atlantic commodities, surpassing the wonders of BARON MÜNCHHAUSEN himself. Now, you, who know all about this humbug, and who do not wish us to be humbugged, will be so kind as to send me, if you can, the following things, or some books or printed papers, out of which I can obtain the information.

1. An account of the number of criminals, committed for trial in the state of New York forty years ago; or, for as long back as you can.
2. The number of criminals committed during the last year; or, in the last year that you can get an account of.
3. Similar accounts for the city of New York.
4. Similar accounts for the state Pennsylvania, and for the city of PHILADELPHIA.

If you apply to some friends in Philadelphia, they will readily assist you. Any books, or any papers relating to the matter, will be of great use, and I shall want them before the Parliament meets again; so pray get them sent to me as soon as you possibly can. Send me also an account, or accounts, the best you can possibly get at, about the progress of *schools*, and of "*education*." I can remember when such a personage as what is called "*a girl of the town*," was unheard of either in PHILADELPHIA or

NEW YORK ; and, Mr. OWEN tells us that there are now 20,000 of these personages in the city of New York alone, which, if true, certainly does not speak very highly in favour of the moral effects of "education" as it is called. Now, pray, do not neglect to send me these things. Speak to Mr. DOYLE to recommend to you what books and papers to send. He, who re-publishes all my books, I see, will, I dare say, easily make the collection for you. Let me know, also, the progress of the paper-money; and send me any papers or books relating to it; for, this is the real devil; this is the tyrant; this is the seducer; this is the destroyer of the peace, happiness, and morals of mankind.

In answer to your letter, begging me to finish the "*History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," I have to say, first, that no man can split himself in two; next, that this will be done, in less three months from this day, if I be alive and well. I had a great deal more which I intended to say to you, but I must reserve it until next week, or the week after. In the meanwhile, present my kindest respects to all friends whom you know in Long Island and at New York, particularly Mr. JOHN TREDWELL and his family, and Mr. GEORGE CLARK. Tell TREDWELL that I have a better crop of corn this year, than ever stood upon his beautiful farm; though it is not so lofty and so magnificent to the view. Tell him, that I will send him some peas before planting time, such as no Yankee ever yet tasted, and will tell him how to have green peas all the summer, even in the months of July and August; not nasty little things with a stinging bug in every one of them; but fine large peas, which he may plant about the beginning of May, and which will remain fresh as a locust-tree till the peas are ripe and fit to thrash. Planted in the last week of May, he will have them in perfection all through July; and planted in the last week in June, he will have them through August and September; and, if he give any of the seed to anybody but an Englishman, or

to some of my well-known friends in Long Island, I shall not forgive him. This is a pea for a hot-country, in which the little early pea can serve only for about a week, or a fortnight; and, therefore, it is a real discovery for America, which is not at all calculated for the common pea. If you have got a garden, as I hope you have, you will, of course, take toll for your trouble. Remember me kindly to your father, and all the family; and believe me always to remain

Your faithful friend,

and most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LOCAL COURTS, &c.

LETTER II.

SIR,—At the latter end of my former letter, I impliedly assumed that the necessity for additional courts was granted. I was, perhaps, rather hasty in this, inasmuch as in the late article in which you scattered to the winds the Lord High Chancellor's rejected "*Local Courts Bill*," you adverted to the cases of servants and workmen, and observed, in substance, that these persons are already provided with cheap and effectual means of recovering their wages before justices of the peace, and that they therefore can stand in no need of local courts. I go along with you to a great extent in this, but I do not infer from your observation, that you have formed a matured or deliberate opinion against the necessity altogether of establishing additional courts for the cheaper and more speedy administration of justice, and for bringing it within the convenient reach of all persons, at least in matters of smaller concern, whether arising out of contracts, or for wrongs wholly independent of contract. Servants and workmen, doubtless, may often be in need of a more expeditious remedy for the recovery of their wages than it would be practicable, or, at any rate, than I shall think it practicable, and propose to furnish by means of the new courts. I would therefore leave to

justices of the peace their present jurisdiction in cases between masters and their servants and workmen. Nor, by-the-by, do I propose to interfere with the jurisdiction of any courts already established, any further than in affording to suitors an opportunity, if they please, of resorting to the new courts in preference. But as I am not fully persuaded of the considerateness or evenhandedness on all occasions of the law and justice of justices of the peace (having heretofore known instances of determinations by individual justices, which argued little of either considerate judgment or fair dealing), I would at least have it that the new courts should be open to the claims of servants and workmen, as well as of all others; and this, not only in the first instance, but also by way of appeal from the decisions of the justices, when they should have been applied to in the first instance, and have decided against the claim of the applicant. But as to the general question of the necessity for additional courts, it is needless to point out in what numberless ways small debts, as well as large ones, may be contracted between persons who do not stand in the relation of master and servant. The middling and poorer classes are, too, more exposed than the higher and more wealthy, to numerous, and, to them, serious wrongs, which have no connexion with debts or matters of contract. And, however true it may be, that, in most of or in all the plans of reform hitherto projected, there may be room to fear that what has been proposed may not, after all, have, properly speaking, been "justice," yet we must not be deterred by such failures from endeavouring in our turn something better. And so long as there is room to hope that one may possibly succeed in suggesting something which shall be likely by common consent to be thought a material improvement, whether in kind and quality, or cheapness or dispatch, on what has hitherto been vouchsafed to us, I am quite sure, from your constant and zealous labours in advocating the rights of all, and more especially the industrious among the middling and poorer classes, that you

would be the very last man to set your face altogether against any such endeavours. The old answer to the observation of the courts of law being open to all, that, "So, too, is the London Tavern," is still as just and pat to the purpose as it was at first; and the parallel, howbeit it turns on a homely and "vulgar" subject, may be usefully carried a short way farther. To say, then, that the people should be content with having only the present small quantity of high-priced law, which is administered in the three superior courts, were to say that there shall be no eating-houses or cook-shops, no mackerels at four a shilling for the poor, no herrings, no boiled beef, ready in the neighbourhood, for the witnesses in attendance at the Old Bailey. Alehouses shall be done away with as fast as can be, having regard to "vested interests." No eatables or drinkables shall be sold in any public-house, except taverns and hotels, having a dining-room 200 feet long by 150 broad, and forty feet high, to be ornamented with cut-glass chandeliers of 2,000*l.* a piece, and not to be less than fifteen in number. Each chandelier to consume per annum from 8,000*l.* down to 5,000*l.* worth of oil-gas, or wax candles. No tallow candles to be permitted. No ale, beer, or porter, shall be sold in these taverns, or *elsewhere*, except at wine prices. No gin to be on any account anywhere sold except in apothecaries' shops, and "not to be drunk upon the premises." But it shall be free to all persons to take as much of French, German, or Hungarian wines of the first qualities, as they please, only paying for the same. If the taverns be full, the parties coming too late to depart for that day, and to come again to-morrow in better time. Laws are made to subserve only to the watchful, not to persons asleep. Provided nevertheless, that these lawfully authorised taverns and hotels shall be shut up from the middle of the third week in July till after the 24. of October, in order that the head cooks and cellarmen, in the mean time, "may go to Rome if they please."

The expediency and necessity of pro-

viding additional courts, being, then, granted, it becomes necessary to consider; 1st, Over what causes of action the new courts should have jurisdiction; 2ndly, What number of additional courts will be required, or to put it in another form, within what distances the places to be appointed for holding the courts should be situated from each other; 3rdly, How frequently the courts should be held for the trial of the causes; 4thly, Out of what materials the courts may be best constituted; 5thly, In what places the business of the suits, from the commencement of the action to the trial, may most conveniently and in the best manner be conducted and carried on.

There will be many other material, and scarcely subordinate subjects, for consideration; such, for instance, as limiting the number of steps or stages of proceedings in the course of a cause; but with which I shall not venture to intrude upon your columns. Before proceeding, however, to the first of these heads of inquiry, I beg to remind you, that I am submitting only my general notions on these matters, without intending to enter minutely into details, and without caring to say, just at present, whether I could fill up my outlines better than any other person.

1. With respect, then, to the causes of action over which the new courts should have jurisdiction, I see no reason why a local court should not be as competent to decide on a debt of 1,000*l.* as on a debt of 50*l.* There is not necessarily any greater difficulty in the one case than in the other. To argue the contrary would be to argue that a poulterer may be competent to sell a chicken but must not be trusted with the sale of a capon. It seems, however, to be on all hands, taken for granted, that the jurisdiction of any new courts should be limited in point of amount of debt or damages. Be it so, then, and I care little whether the amount to be fixed on be 100*l.* or 50*l.* But by whatever rules it may be fixed, so long as FEES OF COURT, to be paid by the parties, shall remain not wholly abolished in the courts at Westminster, I would fix the

amount at double the sum that I would afterwards. And this, not from any wish to curtail the business of the superior courts, or to leave them without full employ, but in order that the public should have the cheaper justice of the new courts for the recovery of debts or damages to a larger amount than might be called for after the costs of actions in the superior courts shall have come to be only the before-described natural costs and expenses of a suit at law.

But there are certain classes of cases which frequently involve nicer and more difficult questions of law than others, and which are at the same time, to a certain extent, more removed from the ordinary occasions and business of the bulk of the community; and these, it may be fit to leave exclusively to the superior courts. Among these may be ranked, more particularly in our present state of one branch of law, which Bentham would have called, and, perhaps, has called "conveyancers-made law," all cases involving questions as to the title to real estates in lands, or in incorporeal hereditaments, including, of course, tithes, markets, tolls, ferries, commons of all kinds; so, too, all corporation matters, quo warranto, mandamus, bribery and all offences connected with the return of members to Parliament, with a host of others that do not much concern the common and everyday business or affairs of the bulk of the people. But the new courts should have jurisdiction over all matters of debt and contract, all torts or trespasses to persons, or with the exceptions hinted at, to personal or real property; such as malicious prosecutions, libel, defamation, criminal conversation, seduction &c. of daughters and servants, nuisances to house or land in possession, obstructing of lights, obstructing or diverting water courses, disturbance of pews in churches, &c., assaults, false imprisonments, replevin (with certain exceptions), trespass to cattle or goods (except in certain cases of distresses), or to house or land, where no question as to the right of possession really arises. But I must not run on here too fast, lest some learned friend should discover,

as perhaps he already may have, that I am giving jurisdiction to the new courts over some matters in relation to which I have already denied them jurisdiction.

As to some, if not a considerable number of these causes of action, many persons may probably stoutly object to placing them within the jurisdiction of local courts. For instance, the action for criminal conversation. In the very great refinement (greater, perhaps, in profession and theory than in practice) of the present age, many may object that a cause of action, in its nature coming so home to the very tenderest and most sensitive feelings of the human breast, a cause of action, in giving occasion to which, Milton's "mysterious law" and "sole propriety in Paradise," must have been invaded, should be submitted to the jurisdiction of a local and "inferior" court. The eloquence of the counsel practising in such a court may be thought not likely to take so correct a flight, or to be so touching to a reader of a newspaper, as that which must be supposed to belong to a leading counsel in one of the superior courts. But I have heard of an Irishman, who being the plaintiff in an action of this nature, after having listened to the depicting of his manifold and grievous wrongs by his counsel, quietly remarked, "Tis all very true, but I did not know I was half so much injured before." So, I know of no valid reason, why a country shop-keeper, mechanic, or day-labourer, who has been injured in this way, if he be content to lay his damages at the 100*l* or the 50*l*. to which the jurisdiction of the court should be limited, should not be permitted to seek his redress in a local court. But I cannot stop just now to discuss, or most points for differences on matters of detail, and I would rather wait to hear what objections are in fact made.

It will be necessary, however, to make some particular provisions in regard to causes of action arising partly within and partly out of the jurisdiction of the local court. In some former scheme, it was, I believe, provided, that, in every case, the action should be

brought into the local court within the limits of which the defendant's place of residence was. It was overlooked that no good reason could be assigned, why, if a glass-maker of Newcastle-on-Tyne sold goods to a glazier in Devonshire, he should be obliged to bring his witnesses from Northumberland into Devon. A cause of action so arising might be tried more conveniently and at less expense in London; and, if found best, in a local or inferior court there. Causes of action arising partly in one district, and for the remainder in an adjoining district, may perhaps, inasmuch, as upon the plan I shall suggest under the next head, there could never, in such a case, be any great distance for the parties and their witnesses to travel, be fitly brought in the local court of the district within which the defendant resides. If a local district should intervene between that in which the defendant resides, and another in which the plaintiff resides, or a part of the cause of action has arisen, it might be the most advantageous plan to bring the action in the court of the intervening district. If more than one local district intervene, and the place of residence of the parties and their witnesses do not exceed a certain distance, suppose 60 or 70 miles from London, as the means of conveyance to London are so much cheaper for the distance, and more expeditious, than through cross country roads, in such cases it may be more convenient that the action should be brought in a London local court, though no part of the cause of action has arisen there. And for actions arising in different districts with more than one intervening district, at remoter distances from London, but still wholly arising in some quarter of the kingdom so situated as that London would be quite out of the way for the witnesses to come to prove the different parts of the cause of action, it might be very practicable to fix on the local court of a district centrally situated between the extreme points at which the different parts of the cause of action arise. But I must not run into the danger of raising a *pons asinorum*, by putting cases too compli-

cated for the immediate comprehension of all persons.

2. With respect to the number of additional courts that will be required, or, in other words, within what distances the places to be appointed for holding the courts should be situated from each other. On this head, the most perfect rule in theory to go by, and one at the same time easily practicable, is, as it seems to me, to take care that no market-town shall be at a greater distance from the place of holding some one of the courts than what may be reasonably computed as one day's journey on foot, for the parties and their witnesses to go and return the same day. This rule, it must be admitted, can only completely attain its object in cases in which the cause of action arises wholly within the jurisdiction of one and the same court. For other cases, it is evidently impossible that the same advantage can be provided. But why I would measure the distance by a day's journey on foot to and from the session town, is because it ought to be a chief object of these courts to administer to the recovery of the smallest demands, and the redress of the least important wrongs, as well as demands of a more considerable amount and injuries of a more serious extent. In many cases of this description the parties may be very competent and be desirous of conducting their causes themselves, without the employment of either attorneys or counsel. They may, too, be without the means of travelling otherwise than on foot; or the matter in dispute may not be worth incurring the expense of any other mode of travelling. How, for instance, could a day-labourer, with wages of 9s. or 10s. a week, pay for horse-hire or travelling by stage-coach? Or, if the defendant be a day-labourer, what prospect would the plaintiff have of obtaining repayment of such expenses in the shape of costs? Or how far could it be reasonable that such a defendant, owing a debt of a few shillings, and withholding payment (as would be the case nine times in ten) from inability, or pressing inconvenience, rather than positive dis-

honesty, should be mulcted in an amount of costs, which, under the law as it is at present (but which I shall propose to modify), would take the flock bed from under him, and take away the joint-stools on which his children sat at breakfast to eat their teakettle broth?

But supposing the rule I have suggested to be adopted, a day's journey on foot from home, to be travelled back again the same day, allowing the parties to rise early and to reach home again in good time for bed, after staying in the court, if necessary, till its usual time of rising, which we may suppose 5 in the afternoon, may, in the present improved state of the roads be fairly taken at about 12 miles. And thus the remotest market-towns from the session town, within the jurisdiction of a local court, would be about 12 miles.

Let me, for elucidating the effect of thus locating the new courts, suppose such a court to be established at Bruton in Somersetshire, which place I instance, as being situated in a part of the country with which I am pretty well acquainted. This court would include within its limits the city of Wells, the towns of Glastonbury, Shepton Mallett, Nunny, Frome, Warminster, Mere, Wincanton, Shaftesbury, Stalbridge, Milborne Port, Sherborne, Yeovil, Somerton, Ilchester, and Castle Cary, (all of which places are within 13, and all but two or three within 12, miles of Bruton,) and a large number of perhaps from 100 to 150 populous parishes, chiefly agricultural, but in part manufacturing. I suppose the next court to this at Bruton in one direction (the north eastern), to be fixed at Melksham in Wiltshire. The Melksham court would include Westbury, Bradford, Trowbridge, Devizes, Bath, Calne, Chippenham, East Lavington, with, of course, all the intermediate and adjoining parishes. Let the next court, in the opposite direction from Bruton, be fixed at Taunton. It would, I apprehend, include Wellington, Bampton, Dulverton, Wyveliscombe, Nether Stowey, Bridgewater, Langport, Ilminster, Chard, Crewkerne, besides the neighbouring village parishes. See, then,

what a large extent of the most fertile and (with the exception of the largest towns in the manufacturing districts) the most populous part of England would be comprehended within the limits of three courts alone. Three courts will thus extend over all the market-towns within a tract of 72 miles long by 24 wide, but to which tract must be added a further space, both in length and breadth, for rural villages lying beyond the farthest market-towns within the jurisdiction of each court. Supposing this additional space on an average to be four miles in each direction from each court, the three courts will cover a space of 96 miles long by 32 wide. By the same rule six courts will extend over a space of 192 miles by 32, and about seven times six will, perhaps, reach over all England.

But I have furnished quite sufficient for most persons' reading at one spell, and must, with your permission, beg leave to trouble you again.

I am, Sir, with many thanks for your insertion of my former letter,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,

J. GEORGE.

Temple, August 14, 1833.

Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

PETITIONS.

I HERE publish a list of the petitions which I presented on Monday last, in order that those who have done me the honour to intrust them to my care, may see that I have presented them. I am sorry that I have been unable to present some of them sooner; but it was quite impossible for me to do it before, without neglecting my duty as a member of the select committee on the POPAY-affair; and that was too important a matter to trifle with.

1. INHABITANTS OF OLDHAM. Sets forth their grievous disappointment at the effects of the Reform Bill; and prays for universal suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by ballot, and no property qualification for members.—7,000 signatures.

2. GODALMING POLITICAL UNION. Prays for vote by ballot, and repeal of the Septennial Act.
3. NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION. Complains of the gross partiality of taxation, particularly of the legacy and probate duties; and prays for a speedy adjustment of the same.
4. INHABITANTS OF NOTTINGHAM, BASFORD, &c. Complaint and prayer the same. *Two very able petitions.*
5. JOSEPH RUSSELL, BIRMINGHAM. Complains of the vindictive conduct of a self-elected body of commissioners, in prosecuting him for printing a hand-bill for another person.
6. HUNSTON, Sussex. Prays for the abolition of the malt and hop taxes. *Signed by every man in the parish.*
7. OLDHAM. *From persons who took part in taking Seringapatam in 1799.* States, that they have received the first division of their prize-money, and have made repeated applications for the remainder without effect: prays that the House will cause the same to be paid them.
8. MANCHESTER. Prays that the legacy and probate duties may be laid equally on *real* as well as personal property.
9. EDWARD BYRNE, SURGEON, RATCLIFF. Prays for a law for the better recovery of small debts in the Tower Hamlets.
10. Mr. FOLSCH, BURLINGTON ARCADE. States that there can be no prosperity nor happiness in this country while the National Debt remains, and prays that the House will appoint a Select Committee, before which he is prepared to lay a plan for the extinction of the Debt, without injustice to any one.
11. WM. NORRIS. Complains of the treatment which he has received from the Stamp Office, after having hunted up several thousand pounds of legacy.
12. *Chairman of a Meeting at Manchester.* Complains of the treatment of Wm. Simmons, late a private in the Foot Guards, in being discharged with disgrace for read-

- ing an unstamped newspaper, and prays for a Committee of the whole House to investigate the matter, and grant justice to the said Wm. Simmons.
13. *Mr. Blaxland, Leamington.* Prays that the House will not grant the twenty millions compensation to the West India proprietors.
14. *Public Meeting of the Working Classes of Edinburgh.* Prays for an inquiry into the spy-police affair.
15. *Mr. FOSTER*, late editor and proprietor of the *Leeds Patriot*. Complains that, in consequence of his advocating the Ten-Hour Bill, he was made the subject of a vindictive and vexatious prosecution for alleged libel; that he appeared at York Assizes prepared to refute the charge; but that, the charge being so frivolous, the Judge recommended the withdrawal of a juror. That petitioner's counsel submitted to this recommendation, rather than proceed in direct opposition to the Judge, although he was certain of a verdict had the trial proceeded: that, by this arrangement, petitioner was saddled with enormous expenses, amounting to nearly 300*l.*, and that for having committed no offence against the laws: prays that the House will adopt measures to prevent other persons being made the victims of spite and caprice.
16. *Mr. GRIFFIN.* Prayed for some pecuniary compensation on account of some improvements, which he had suggested, having been made in the army dress, &c. *Not received.*
17. *JAMES LUSH.* States, that about two years ago, he kept cows at Peckham Rye; and that he was robbed of the milk by a sergeant in the police; that he clearly proved the charge at the station house; that the sergeant not only was not punished for the theft, but that he was still employed as a sergeant, being removed to another district. Prays for an inquiry into the same; and that justice may be impartially administered.
18. *Mr. WM. DEAN.* Sets forth that he entered the police three years ago; that he was, soon after, appointed a clerk; and subsequently to be a police-sergeant, doing the duty of a deputy-inspector; that he continued as such until May last, without having a single fault laid to his charge; and that his promotion was obtained solely by his meritorious conduct: that in May last, he was dismissed by the commissioners of police for having condemned the conduct of Secretary Viscount MELBOURNE; and for having called the *Calthorpe-street jury noble men*: that he was not, from first to last, confronted with his accuser; was allowed no opportunity of defending himself; nor even hearing before the commissioners: complains of the arbitrary and unjust conduct of the commissioners, and prays, that the House will take steps to prevent such acts of gross injustice for the future.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

SIR,—Seeing in the *True Sun* of last night, that a meeting of the "Metropolitan Political Union" is to be held on Saturday evening next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the means of obtaining for each parish the management and control of its police, and that I have accepted an invitation to attend the same, I have to state, that I did accept the invitation, and should have attended; but finding that money is to be taken for admission to the meeting, I shall not attend.

I am, Sir, your most obedient
and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt-court, 22. August.

POLICE.

Thursday evening.

TO-DAY (for the Parliament has got to sit by daylight at last) I made a statement in the House relative to the conduct of POPAY, of M'LEAN, and of the commissioners, abstaining from making any motion upon the subject; expressing my hope that the Government would do justice in the case; but promising that if justice be not done before the next meeting of Parliament, I would then bring it forward. I trust that the Government will do justice; and that will be a great deal better than making a stir to inflame the minds of the people, already too greatly and too justly inflamed. I have been particularly offended with the commissioners for their conduct to Mr. W. DEAN, who is a very worthy young man, who was a sergeant and clerk in the police, got promoted solely by his merit, was two years without committing a single fault, and who was dismissed on the charge of having said, relative to the CALTHORPE-STREET affair, something highly disrespectful of Lord MELBOURNE, having censured the police for their conduct there, and having praised the verdict of the CALTHORPE-STREET jury. Now this was indiscreet on the part of Mr. DEAN; it was a great fault in him to speak disrespectfully of Lord MELBOURNE, if he did so speak, which he denies; and, in his situation, it was not *prudent* for him to speak, as he probably did, about the conduct of the police and the jury. But, allowing the charge to be true to its fullest extent, what was DEAN's offence compared to that of BARTLETT, who milked LUSH's cows, and who, though charged with that offence, was still kept in his post as sergeant by M'LEAN and the commissioners! I grant, that the commissioners must possess the absolute power of dismissal, without cause assigned; but, *if there be a cause assigned*, then the party is entitled to a hearing; and this hearing the commissioners did not give to Mr. DEAN. I was sorry to hear Mr. LAMB say something about the commissioners thinking Mr. DEAN "*mad*." Accuse anybody belonging to

the Government of something that they cannot answer, and immediately some *immorality* is imputed to you; and, if you be spotless as snow, then you are mad! I was sorry to hear this from Mr. LAMB, because I have never seen in him any proneness to foul play. Mr. DEAN is a sober, conscientious, and clever young man: he drew up the petition for his neighbours at WALWORTH; and he attended solely at my request to give evidence relative to the complaint about milking the cows, he having been present when LUSH made the complaint; and LUSH living at too great a distance to be conveniently brought to the committee. I never saw, or heard of, Mr. DEAN before this affair. I seldom do things by halves. I have thought it necessary to make strict inquiries into his character, as well as his origin; and better testimonials of good character are not possessed by any man living. Mr. DEAN has thus been thrown out of employment, he having a wife and three small children; and I cannot help thinking, that if Lord MELBOURNE would but consider what it is for a man to be thus situated, who has no means of support, but that which is to come from the use of his talents in writing, or as a teacher (the capacity in which he was before he entered the police), I cannot help thinking, that he would endeavour to find out some mode of mitigating the injury thus done to Mr. DEAN; and especially, when the indiscreet offence was committed against himself. I know that I should do it; and it does not become me to suppose, that this nobleman is less magnanimous or less merciful than I should be. We have not, all of us, at all times, complete command of our tongues, "no, nor of our PENS either," his Lordship will say, nodding his head on one side. Granted; but, if a fellow, with a pen in his hand, at the end of forty years, lets slip out "that potatoes and salt won't burn," and such-like indiscreet phrases, what allowance is to be made for a young man, who, amidst the hubbub of popular excitement, lets out a hasty expression about the conduct of his superior! Besides, Mr. DEAN denies having either spoken

thought disrespectfully of his Lordship; and Lord MELBOURNE ought to overlook, and I trust will overlook, this sole and only instance of misconduct, and will take Mr. DEAN'S case into his consideration. If Mr. DEAN could make shoes or coats, or lay bricks, or put on tiles, or make boxes, or door-frames, I should think nothing of the matter; but, having none of these to resort to, he has, in fact, been most grievously injured by this proceeding; and I once more express my hope, that Lord MELBOURNE will do something for him. I insert here below the petition of Mr. DEAN, and the newspaper report of what took place on Monday last, when I presented this petition.

The next petition was from a cow-keeper at Walworth, who stated that he, several mornings, on going out to milk his cows, found they had been milked before he got them. That he was for some time unable to discover who the offender was, until one morning, on going out as usual to milk his cows, he saw a police sergeant of the name of Bartlett, of the P division, with a pot in his hand—(laughter)—who, on finding he was discovered, laid down the pot and ran off. The plaintiff found that the pot was warm, and that there was a small quantity of milk at the bottom of it. The petitioner stated that he was at a station at Peckham Rye; that he was in the habit of milking the cows and giving the milk to the policemen.—He was removed from Peckham Rye to Walworth, and there continued to do duty as a policeman. The hon. Member then presented a petition from an inspector of police, complaining of the conduct of the commissioners in dismissing him from office, and without having been guilty of any misconduct. Mr. Cobbett contrasted the two cases with great force. Subjoined is the petition:

"That your petitioner was born at Shepton-Mallett, in the county of Somerset, of respectable parents, his father being a landowner and brewer in that place, and that he received his edu-

cation at the grammar-school in that town.

"That in October, 1830, he entered the Metropolitan Police, recommended by his last employer, Mr. Dawson, of the Mansion-house, Camberwell, whom your petitioner served as a classical teacher in his academy; also by the Rev. Dr. Lindsay, of Dulwich College, and other respectable gentlemen.

"That your petitioner, in two months after he joined, was appointed to act as divisional clerk; that in September, 1831, he was promoted to the rank of sergeant-clerk, with the pay of 1*l.* 1*s.* per week. That your petitioner was made full sergeant in February, 1832, with the pay of 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and was then appointed to do duty as an inspector, in which capacity your petitioner remained until he was dismissed, on 26. May, 1833.

"That your petitioner begs to assure your hon. House that his promotion, as before stated, was obtained solely by his meritorious conduct, never having had any interest made by any friend whatever for his promotion.

"That your petitioner was highly respected by the inhabitants in the parishes of Camberwell and Walworth, never having had any complaint made against him except once, by the writer of an anonymous letter, who made a charge against your petitioner, which was brought before the commissioners, and, the case being so contemptible, was dismissed.

"That on the 22. May, 1833, the superintendent M'Lean, of the P division, ordered him to his office; that there and then Maisey the inspector read to him a report for a charge that was made to the commissioners against your petitioner; that this charge was in the following words:

"For boisterous and improper conduct in Camberwell watchhouse on the 21. instant, in condemning the conduct of Secretary Viscount Melbourne and the police force generally, and for applauding the jury for their verdict relative to the murder of Culley; and that for this cause your petitioner was informed that he was suspended until

further orders. That on the 26. of May, your petitioner received a letter from Walters, the inspector, informing him that he was dismissed by order of the commissioners.

"That your petitioner never was, from first to last, confronted with his accusers; that he was never called upon for any defence, answer, or explanation, and that he never had from first to last, any hearing on the subject, either before the commissioners or any other person in authority, connected with the police establishment.

"Finally, your petitioner humbly prays that your honourable House will adopt such measures, with regard to the Government of the metropolitan police as shall prevent such arbitrary, inquisitorial, and truly un-English-like conduct on the part of the commissioners for the future, and as shall secure to every man a fair and just hearing, before he is dismissed with injury to his character. And further, your petitioner prays that your honourable House will cause inquiries to be made as to the truth of your petitioner's statement, and will take such steps for redressing your petitioner's grievance as your honourable House may deem fit.

"And your petitioner will ever pray."

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Bolt-court, 23. August, 1833.

MY FRIENDS,—I, yesterday, in my place in the House of Commons, made the motion which you will see here below, which motion was agreed to by the Ministers, without either hesitation or reluctance. We shall, therefore, have these papers before us properly authenticated; and, you may be assured, that I shall then take those steps (in the next session), which there was no possibility of taking in the present session. As I told the people at MANCHESTER, and as I told you, I will never do, or propose to do, any thing which can possibly be imputed to a feeling of *vindictiveness*. Let the conduct of our

bitter and unjust enemies have been what it might, I will pursue the mildest course known to the laws and usages of this kingdom. Justice demands that the *reformers* of 1817 and 1819, who suffered so unjustly, should receive from a *reformed* Parliament, a declaration that that suffering was unjust; and that the like shall never happen again. This is due to them, and to the whole people; and, moreover, something is due, in the way of atonement, in some shape or another, to the *surviving sufferers themselves*, among whom are several of my immediate constituents. I was not sent to Parliament by you to carp at, and to pick holes in the coat of the executive Government. I will never do any thing for the purpose of annoying them, be their conduct towards me what it may. Therefore, if they be disposed to do justice in this case, I shall be very happy in having been the means of bringing the matter under their consideration; but I must have a formal and solemn assurance from this Parliament, that the horrible wrongs which I complain of, shall *never take place again*; that our children shall never be subjected to those acts of tyranny and indignity, to which we, their fathers, have been subjected. The following is a copy of the motions.

"That there be laid before this House a return of all the persons who were imprisoned, in Great Britain, in virtue of the Act of 1817 (57. Geo. 3. chap. 3.), stating, with regard to each person separately, 1. his name; 2. his place of abode at the time of his arrest; 3. the prison, or different prisons, in which he was confined; 4. the date of his commitment; 5. the date of his discharge from prison; 6. the grounds of his commitment, as far as the same can be stated; and, 7. the name of the person, or persons, who signed his commitment. Also for a copy of a circular letter, which was addressed by Lord Viscount Sidmouth to the lords-lieutenant of counties, and which was dated, 'Whitehall, 27, March, 1817.' Also for a copy of the letter, which was addressed by the said Lord Viscount

Sidmouth to the Earl of Derby, directing the said Earl to thank the magistrates, who acted at Manchester on the 16. August, 1819."

SEIZURE FOR TAXES AT HULL,

AND REFUSAL OF THE PEOPLE TO PURCHASE WHEN OFFERED FOR SALE BY AUCTION.

On Monday last, the 12. instant, considerable excitement was manifested in Hull, on its being announced by Mr. Noble, printer, bookseller, and news agent, by a placard posted generally about the town, that property seized from him for refusing to pay assessed taxes would that morning be attempted to be sold by auction, at the Exchange Sale-rooms.

It was generally supposed that Mr. Hyde, the auctioneer, being a respectable man, would refuse to sell the property. In that, however, they were mistaken; Mr. Hyde pleaded *ignorance* as to their having been seized, and observed that having made entry of them he must offer them for sale.

By ten o'clock, the time announced for the sale, the rooms were crowded almost to suffocation, as also the adjacent court and passage, by tradesmen and shopkeepers generally, all firmly determined not to purchase at any price. The goods seized were five elegant portable writing desks and two sets of books.

After the auctioneer had announced the conditions of sale, Mr. Noble addressed the persons assembled, of which the following is an outline:

"MY FRIENDS,—You are both the Judge and the Jury in this case. Mr. Hyde has opened the proceedings, and it will be my business, as briefly as I can, consistently with the duty I owe myself, and my obligations to you, to state the case to you.

"You are perfectly aware of the business which has called us together; you have been informed of it by my placard; namely, the seizure of my property for the non-payment of taxes, and the announcement that

"that property is this day to be attempted to be sold here by auction.

"During the unjust wars of the French Revolution—wars waged for the express purpose of exterminating liberty and filling the pockets of the aristocracy—a multitude of additional taxes were unequally imposed upon the people, called assessed taxes, granted by iniquitous and corrupt Houses of Commons to the minister of the day, on the solemn pledge that they being war taxes, they should cease and terminate with the termination of the war. But what is the real fact? Peace was ratified in the year 1815, now more than eighteen years ago—and the present Minister of the crown, the 'retrenching' Whig Althorp—the great advocate for the abolition of these imposts when out of place—he now tells you he cannot AFFORD to abate one farthing of the odious window tax, whilst he is about to give TWENTY MILLIONS of money as compensation to the West Indian slave-holders, at the very time they are admitting that free labour is cheaper than slavery.

"It is not for Lord Althorp, or any other Lord, or any other Minister to say he cannot 'afford' to abate these taxes: it is perfectly useless for him to say so: the people cannot pay these infamous taxes, and if they could, they will soon find constitutional means for refusing them.

"A Whig (said Mr. N. sarcastically) is a Whig! and saying this is saying every thing you can say which is base in political apostacy. This has ever been the case; their conduct has always been marked by hypocrisy, imbecility, and deceit.

"When Fox came into office in 1806, his motto was similar to that of the present Premier, Reform, Retrenchment, and Peace. The first he never heartily attempted to accomplish; as to the second, he added ten per cent. to the property tax, and attempted to send an exciseman into every man's house who brewed his own beer; and, thirdly, he abandoned the principles

"he professed out of office, and there was war the whole of his administration, and he died with Great Britain and France, and the continent, all involved in war. So much for his pledge of *reform, retrenchment, and peace!*"—(Immense cheering followed this address).

The first article offered was a portable desk—no biddings;—but, just as the auctioneer was about to pass the lot, a voice from the crowd faintly screamed out "five shillings;" every eye was turned to the place, where the sound came from, and the whole inquiry was, "Who is he? turn him out," &c. when it proved to be Lee, a constable, and the person to whom the warrant was intrusted to seize the property. The groans and execrations were now perfectly deafening; still this individual persisted in his determination, and it was knocked down to him at a quarter the cost price. On a second being offered, he was again the bidder and purchaser: after this the people would bear it no longer, and the rest of the lots were passed without his having the courage to be again the purchaser.

Mr. Noble then again briefly addressed the people. He observed it had not turned out *exactly* as he had anticipated, inasmuch as Lee had stepped in between him and them. But, as it respected the merchants and tradesmen assembled, his anticipations had been completely realized. Mr. N. then observed that a few pusillanimous imbeciles, persons who have just courage enough to sign a petition prepared at some hole-and-corner meeting, when brought to them, had endeavoured to persuade him not to persist in trying the issue of the sale, as "plenty of people would be found to purchase, and it might injure his trade by giving offence." To these he replied, "he did not believe the people *would* purchase, and as to the *injury* he was likely to sustain, no tradesman would leave his shop on that account. How could they?—when the whole of them had over and over again signed petitions for the extinction of the odious house and window taxes and assessed taxes

generally. All, all had done so, except a few aldermen, and who were also the commissioners; their custom he had never had much of, nor did he covet it; for the *ready money* of his friends he saw before him was of infinitely more value to him than an alderman's trust, *especially* if he pleaded the statute of limitation for the non-payment of his just debts." This last observation was followed by thunders of applause, as it was known to every person present to whom it referred.—"He had higher game to play than to make it a *sine qua non* whether he should tamely submit to a continuance of these exactions on the ground of losing the custom of *aldermen*, NOT ONE OF WHOM RESIDED IN THE TOWN, and a very few in the country."

Mr. N. then closed his address by assuring them that he should immediately give the greatest possible publicity in his power to the proceedings of the morning, and left the auction rooms amidst the cheers and congratulations of the assembled multitude.

EDINBURGH CHURCH TAX.

My readers have heard of the strife in this fine city, relative to the tax by which the clergy are maintained. The storm was brewing when I was there last year; and now, apparently, it has bursted forth. Mr. TAIT, the editor of the very celebrated magazine, has resisted the payment of the tax, and has been sent to prison. In the House of Commons, I gave an explanation of the grounds of the quarrel, and defended, as well as I could, the tax-payers of EDINBURGH, without any attempt to disparage the character of the clergy. The grounds of the dispute are fully set forth in the following articles from the *Edinburgh Chronicle*, and in the letters of Mr. TAIT; all which I lay before my readers, who will clearly see, that this resistance to taxation has not been made without just cause. We have here another instance of the final effects of partial, and, therefore, unjust taxation.

EDINBURGH ANNUITY TAX.

First letter of Mr. Tait from the Calton Jail, which appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* of Monday the 12. August.

To the Editor of the Caledonian Mercury.

Sir,—I wish to be allowed, through the medium of your paper, to explain the reasons which have induced me to submit to imprisonment, rather than pay the annuity or ministers' stipend. My reasons are these :

The tax was imposed by the act of 1661, and preceding acts, to raise 19,000 merks, which were to be applied to the maintenance of only six of the twelve Edinburgh clergymen, whereas a sum very much larger has been collected, under the name of annuity, and applied to the maintenance of *all* the Edinburgh clergymen, and to *other* purposes.

That collection and application of the annuity was illegal up to 1809; and was only then made legal (if legal it yet is), by a clause surreptitiously and illegally inserted in an act of Parliament, which had been intimated as one for simply extending the royalty of the city. Unless an act of Parliament, fraudulently obtained by the clergy, can make the annuity, as now collected and applied, *legal*, the collection and application are still *illegal*.

Altogether, by the annuity, impost, seat-rents, shore-dues at Leith, &c., about 21,000*l.* are collected, in the name of the church establishment, while only about half that sum is applied to its legitimate purposes.

The sum levied from the citizens of Edinburgh is not only too large, but is unequally levied and absurdly applied; 55,000 souls, in the extended royalty, having thirteen churches, and eighteen ministers, to whom about 9,000*l.* per annum is paid, while 70,000 souls, in that part of Edinburgh which is called the parish of St. Cuthbert's, pay no part of the annuity tax, the two clergymen of this parish, and those of the chapels of ease belonging to it, being paid by the heritors, or from the seat-rents.

The above inequality of the assessment is further aggravated by the exemption of the members of the College of Justice; also, by the tax being laid upon shops, &c., as well as dwelling-houses, although the latter are the proper measures of the incomes of the inhabitants.

For those and other reasons, detailed in a petition to Parliament, and a report by the Committee of Inhabitants, the collection of the annuity has been considered unjust and oppressive. Payment has been refused by the inhabitants; and when the clergy proceeded to distrain the goods of the recusants, their proceedings were rendered ineffective by the impossibility of finding purchasers for the distrained goods. Finding their seizure of the citizens' goods inoperative, the clergy are resorting to the extremity of imprisonment. Mr. Wilson, pocket-book maker, was the first seized on. He, as was publicly announced, submitted immediately on being imprisoned

to the imposition of the clergy, on account of the state of his health. I have been selected as the second victim; and, as I have not Mr. Wilson's reason for instant submission to what I conceive injustice and oppression, I have permitted the clergy to imprison me; and send you this statement from my place of confinement, the jail, Calton Hill.

In reference to St. Peter's name, our Saviour said, "Upon this rock I have built my church." It is now seen upon what rock the Edinburgh clergy rest their establishment; the rock on which stands the Calton jail.

Let no man tell me that I ought to petition Parliament for an alteration of the law, instead of opposing this passive resistance to the law. Petitioning has been tried, once and again; and what has been the result? Why, that the Lord Advocate of Scotland, one of the representatives of our city, and a Minister of the Crown, has attempted to sanction the hideous injustice of which we complain, by a new act of Parliament, fixing down the odious annuity tax upon us more firmly than ever, with no amelioration of the injustice, except the doing away with the exemption of the College of Justice!

I believe there is no hope of redress but from refusal of payment until the extremity of imprisonment is resorted to. In that belief I have acted, and

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM TAIT.

Second letter from the Calton Jail which appeared in the *Observer*, of Tuesday the 13.

To the Reverend Messrs. G. H. Baird, James Marshall, Andrew Brown, Robert Gordon, John Hunter, Alexander Brunton, John Lee, John Inglis, R. Anderson, Daniel Wilkie, David Ritchie, A. Grant, James Martin, Henry Grey, William Muir, Thomas Macknight, and John Bruce, clergymen of the Established Church in Edinburgh.

REV. GENTLEMEN,—Since you have thought fit to lay me in jail for refusing to pay an assessment for your support, I consider it due to myself, and to the cause of truth, that I should publicly vindicate my own conduct. It is possible that some good men, under the influence of prejudice and partial views, may consider that I have acted unjustifiably, and contrary to the dictates of religion. I wish to stand well with these men; and if I do not convince them, I hope at least to mitigate the severity of their censures, and to show that, in this contest, I am not the only offending party.

I do not pretend to discuss theology with you; but I know that many of the wisest and best of men, have been of opinion that the religion of Jesus Christ can legitimately rest for its support only on the conviction of its professors; and that its great Founder has proscribed the use of all carnal weapons and wordly policy in the defence and propagation of the Gospel.

I have looked through the whole of the New Testament, and cannot find the shadow of an authority for laying an assessment on any town, city, or country, for the support of its ministers.

I read (John xviii. 36) that Jesus Christ, in answer to Pilate's inquiries, told him, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight."

I read that when the Apostle Paul was desirous that the Corinthians should contribute for Christian purposes, in 2d Cor., 9th chap. which you may turn to at your leisure, he used various and powerful arguments to induce them to contribute liberally; and in the beginning of the next chapter he says, "Now I, Paul, myself, beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ: the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God." But it is needless to multiply quotations. I only ask you if you can conscientiously believe that it is the same religion that breathes in these passages, and which instigated you to send your sheriff officers to drag me to jail, without permitting me to get to my own shop to make the necessary arrangements.

The true Christian religion is founded on the Apostles and Prophets; Jesus Christ, himself, being the chief corner stone; but what have you proved the religion of the establishment to be founded on? The bars, and bolts, and stigma of a jail. Take away the powerful support of the jailers, and where is the Kirk of Scotland?

Alas for Christianity, reverend sirs, if it had only the shining light of your conduct to manifest it.

I do not deny that you have a legal enactment for what you are now perpetrating against the religion you profess; but I maintain that the law is not only essentially unjust; but surreptitiously obtained. It is essentially unjust, inasmuch as it compels men who do not approve of the principles of a sect, to contribute to its support—it was surreptitiously obtained, as it was passed through Parliament without giving the parties interested the legal intimation; and the enactment was procured by the magistracy really for other purposes.

But I am told, that however the law was obtained, it is law, and must be obeyed. I acknowledge that the laws, while in force ought to be obeyed; but I likewise maintain that bad laws ought to be repealed. Now, my objection refusing payment of the assessment for your stipends, is, to show to the country and to yourselves, the utter abomination of this law, and the necessity for some alteration; and, in short, that no compulsory assessment, for the support of the Gospel, can be resorted to, without depending on the aid of the jailer. I have been the more induced to take this step, from perceiving that your reverend body has petitioned Parliament against any alteration of this annuity tax. You cling to the filthy lucre, with whatever injustice and heart-

burnings it may be attended. I see that nothing but decided steps on the part of the payers will procure an equitable adjustment on the part of the payees; and in the hope that I may be in some small measure instrumental in bringing about a consummation so devoutly to be wished, I have submitted to no small inconvenience and odium.

Those who resist payment of this unjust, unchristian, and obnoxious tax have been, branded as doing injury to religion: but I hope the public will perceive that there are two parties in this game, and that if you, gentlemen, had been as anxious to promote the cause of Christianity, as to increase the income of your own order, you would have imitated the conduct of the Apostles, and of the ministers of several denominations of Christians. Had you said, by law we are entitled to the 6 per cent. annuity, but rather than injure the cause of the religion we profess, and be charged with oppression and violence, we shall submit to be defrauded of part of our rights, in all probability the deficiency would have been more than made up by your congregations; but even if the opposition had diminished your incomes by 100% or so, would you sell your master for 100 pieces of gold.

By your violent and harsh assertion of your rights, you have not perhaps injured Christianity, but you have shaken the Kirk. It is not likely that the country will long submit to the burden of a jail-supported church. The inhabitants of Edinburgh have already resolved that this annuity tax shall be abolished; and if I can be, in any humble degree, assistant in relieving them from its oppression, I shall consider myself fully rewarded for all I have suffered at your hands—I am, rev. sirs, with profound respect, your humble and submissive prisoner,

WILLIAM TAIT.

Calton Jail, 12 August, 1833.

MR. TAIT'S LIBERATION.

He stepped into an open carriage, drawn by four horses, which stood on the street, and beside him sat Mr. Howden, Mr. R. Millar, Mr. Robert Chambers, and Mr. Deuchar. At this moment, one of the gentlemen in the carriage, waving his hat, proposed three cheers for the King, and three cheers for Mr. Tait,—both of which propositions were most enthusiastically carried into effect. The procession was then about to move off, when, much against the will of Mr. Tait and the committee, the crowd took the horses from the carriage, and with ropes drew it along the route of procession, which was along Waterloo place, and Princes-street, to Walker-street—as the procession marched along, it was joined by several other trades, who had been late in getting ready, and seldom have we seen such a dense mass of individuals as Princes-street presented on this occasion. In the procession alone, there were no fewer than 8,000 individuals: and we are sure that the

spectators were more than thrice as numerous. Mr. Tait was frequently cheered as he passed along,—and never, but on the occasion of the Reform Bill, was a more unanimous feeling witnessed than on that which brought the people toget her yesterday afternoon.

The procession reached Walker-street, and Mr. Tait soon appeared on the balcony of his house, and addressed his "Friends and Fellow Citizens," in a speech happily adapted to the audience and the occasion, which was received with really *tremendous applause*. It was as follows:—

My Friends and fellow-Citizens,—I thank you most cordially for this demonstration of your approval of my conduct, in reference to the annuity tax. Had the tax been a just one, neither would I have refused payment, nor would you have countenanced resistance to it. But the annuity is a flagrantly unjust assessment. It is needless for me to point out the particular objections to this odious tax. You know them well: you feel them. (Cheers). You are here to express the intensity of your feelings of disgust and indignation at the conduct of the Edinburgh clergy in persisting in this exaction, in refusing every compromise with the inhabitants, in seizing the inhabitants' goods, and imprisoning their persons. My friends, I am one of those who think any compulsory assessment for the maintenance of the clergy improper, however equally levied or judiciously applied. (Loud cheers). There is no warrant in Scripture for such assessments. No compulsory provision for the clergy is authorised by the practice of the apostles, or the early Christians. The brethren were liberal in their offerings; but their contributions were all voluntary. On what does a compulsory assessment for the clergy rest? On the jail. (Loud cheering). It leads the ministers of the gospel of peace into inevitable hostility with their flocks. Either directly, with their own hands, or indirectly, by the hands of magistrates, lawyers, and messengers-at-arms, must the clergy, if they are to be supported by a compulsory assessment, seize the goods of their parishioners and sell them, seize the persons of their parishioners, and thrust them into a jail. A compulsory provision simply means, a provision supported by distraint and imprisonment. Are distraint and imprisoning fit employments for spiritual teachers? No; assuredly not. Conceive, my friends, a meek man of God seizing the goods of a parishioner who happens to be of another sect, and carrying them off to the Cross, to be roused for his stipend! Or conceive him seizing a seceder, or a Baptist, or a Catholic, by the collar, and dragging him to the jail. To bring this more completely home to our minds, conceive the Rev. Dr. Brunton loading his back with a poor widow's half-rotten chest of drawers, tucking her meal-girnel under his right arm, and her *creepy* under his left, with the porridge-pot upon his head; conceive him thus accoutred, wending his way to the Cross, and there knocking

them down to the highest bidder, pocketing the miserable sum which they bring for his stipend and expenses of seizure and sale. (Immense cheering and laughter). Conceive the Rev. Dr. Inglis, or Dr. Horning, as he is now called, going a step beyond his nickname, flourishing not a *horning* (the fees of which "go all to my son," as a recent ballad says), but a CAPTAIN, in his left hand, while his terrible right seizes some obdurate recusant, like myself, by the collar, and the process of dragging to jail follows the process raised by the Rev. Dr. Horning's son. Conceive that gentle and Rev. Doctor, who preaches Toryism occasionally to "Why rage the Heathen?" and other texts, should mildly take out of his waistcoat pocket not a snuff-box, but a messenger's three-inch ebony baton, tipped with silver like his own voice, saying, with a half-bow and a loving paternal air, I request you to consider yourself my prisoner. (Loud cheers). And are not all these conceptions of things monstrous, odious, and abominable? (Tremendous cheers). But is there any real difference between the clergy doing these things themselves, and employing other and ruder hands to do them? (No, no). I know that the Edinburgh clergy give out that *not they*, but the magistrates pound and imprison for annuity. The magistrates might as well say that not they, but Peter Hill; and Peter might as well say, that not he, but my captor, Mr. Thomson, the messenger, thrust me into the Calton Jail, without allowing me to go two divisions of Prince's-street, to see my morning letters. My friends, this is an old trick of established clergy. Spain, as you know, has its established clergy, too; who have a sort of annuity, as well as our Edinburgh clergy, though it goes by another name. In times not long gone past, the Spanish clergy had recourse to something more than imprisoning those heretics whose doctrines endangered their dear annuity. They burned them. Yet, like our clergy here, they constantly said, "Gentlemen, it is not we that burn you. Far be it from our spiritual office to do such a thing. We only *hand you over to the civil power*; and this we do with a recommendation to *have mercy on you*!" (Great laughter and approbation). Whether this led the poor martyrs of the Inquisition, while the fire was kindling round the stake, to acquit the holy brotherhood of the burning of their bodies, I know not. But I know that the excuse of the Edinburgh clergy, that they merely hand me and other martyrs of the annuity-tax over to *our civil power*,—to our rotten corporation, to Peter Hill, or to the tender mercies of messengers-at-arms and jailers, will not pass with me. I look only to the prime actors. I thank Messrs. Baird, Brown, and Lee, &c. for my imprisonment. How different all this form from the example of the meek founder of Christianity! How different from the noble conduct of the Apostle Paul! "These hands," said he, with the warrantable pride of independence, "These hands

"have ministered to my necessities, that I might not be chargeable to any of you." (Applause).

But if an assessment differing widely from the annuity tax, an assessment fairly levied, and fairly applied to the maintenance of the clergy, be thus objectionable, how much more a tax which has all the absurdities and injustice of the annuity to condemn it, in addition to the fact of its being compulsory. My friends, the days of the years of the annuity tax are expired. It may live in your remembrance as an old oppression; the clergy may recollect it with a sigh, as a sweet morsel which they used to roll under their tongue. But annuity shall be exacted no more. You, my friends, have said it, and who dare gainsay it? (Applause). After this grand, this majestic demonstration of your determination that this crying injustice shall cease, rash will be that clergyman who shall authorise its exaction,—rash will be that magistrate, that lawyer, and that messenger, or sheriff's officer, who shall dare to lay his odious hands on the goods or persons of the people of Edinburgh. But, does any one ask are the clergy of Edinburgh to starve? Starving is not the alternative. There is not, there never was, the least chance of their starving. The proper fund for their payment is the seat rents, as at Glasgow. (Cheers). But if the magistrates refuse them the seat-rents, cannot they prosecute the magistrates as well as the citizens, and enforce their rights. Or, cannot they apply to Parliament; or, cannot they appeal to the generosity or justice of their congregations. Have they so small an opinion of their own value to their congregations as to think they would be left to starve, and be considered a good riddance? Or could they not work with their hands, or borrow, or beg—anything but disgrace themselves by resorting to dextraint and the jail. Why, gentlemen, rather than they should starve, we, who are here gathered together to show our abhorrence of their proceedings, would minister to their necessities, until they could find congregations willing to support them. Do they confess that they, of all the different denominations of Christians, would alone be left to perish?

Once more, I express my confident belief, that we have seen the last efforts of the dying annuity tax. It only remains for me again to thank you for the honour you have done me by accompanying me to my home. I assure you my captivity has sat very lightly upon me. The thought that my conduct has been approved of by you, my fellow-citizens and friends, has more than recompensed my slight sufferings. I have done the cause of religious liberty some service, and I glory in it. (Great cheering).

And now let me entreat you, as you value the success of that good cause, to abstain from every appearance of disorder, or even of irritation against the clergy. Poor fellows! they have had the worst of this controversy. We have beaten them, and can afford to

laugh and be good-natured. For you I have no fear. I expect from you, not only that you will keep the peace yourselves, but that you will not allow others to break it. Consider what a matter of rejoicing it would be to our enemies that we should, by any act of violence, however trifling, disgrace our cause. One word more; good-night to the Annuity Tax. (Great approbation and cheering, which lasted some minutes).

Mr. HOWDEN, as the chairman of the inhabitants' committee, then stepped forward, to warn the assembly against giving "occasion to the enemy." It was not needed. Nothing could exceed the propriety with which the people behaved in every circumstance. The procession returned by Princes-street to the Mound, where the different societies were addressed by Messrs. Law, Sargeant, Gunn, and Taylor, and various resolutions were adopted, which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice fully.

For the sake of persons at a distance, we shall in one sentence explain the iniquitous local impost of which Mr. Tait speaks; and which has no more concern with religion, or with the church establishment of Scotland, than with that of Mahomet. It is, apart from the fraudulent manner in which it was imposed, perfectly *unique* in its nature: confined to Edinburgh, and to a part of Edinburgh; and again to certain of the inhabitants of that limited part, to the *entire exemption of those best able to pay,—the whole body of the persons connected with the law and the courts, from the Lord-President to the humblest clerk*. The amount of the tax is 6 per cent. on rent; but, in certain circumstances, it may amount to 18 and to 24 per cent., or more. A silversmith, a jeweller, a candlemaker, a tinman, or general dealer of any kind, is liable to pay, and often does pay 18 per cent. on his rent; 6 for his dwelling-house; 6 per cent. for the place in which he fabricates his wares; and 6 on the shop where he sells them. It is grievous enough, were the whole, in addition to all other heavy burdens local and general, only 6 per cent. But what follows becomes irritating and unendurable. Step across a gutter, or turn a corner, and the tax is not leviable; and if the whole neighbourhood be connected with the law courts, then the unfortunate shop-keeper sees himself the solitary victim of the clergy. Is it surprising that people should for years have rebelled against this excessive and unequal impost? imposed by a trick at first, and levied directly in the face of the universal custom of the Kirk of Scotland, in every other parish and town in Scotland?

For several years hundreds of the most respectable people in business in Edinburgh have refused to pay the annuity. At first by a tacit agreement, and then by organized *passive resistance*, the clergy found it impossible to find purchasers for goods distrained for their stipends. The ministers have allowed themselves to be exasperated to the fearful extremity of last week. Mr. Tait's speech explains

how all compromise has been rejected, and from what source ample funds may be found, and are actually raised, for the support of the clergy.

Resistance to this tax is not a party feeling in Edinburgh. It has been refused by all parties, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals. Why Mr. Tait, bred in the church, and attending its ministry, though unwilling to submit to its oppression in this town, was selected as the first victim, it were vain to guess. He was not even a member of the inhabitants' committee, and had taken no active part in their opposition. He was much less in arrears than many of the members of his own profession, the booksellers being nearly all resisters. The tax has been refused by Mr. Adam Black (who accompanied the first process on to jail), by Messrs. Chambers, Mr. T. Ireland, Mr. Richard Millar, Mr. Howden. Even Mr. Blackwood has contended for the equalization of the impost among all classes, thus to reduce it to all. Why Mr. Tait, who was really, among the booksellers, behind in opposition, should have been chosen, is still a mystery. And ever will it be a shame, that while the Solicitor-General for England is about bringing in a bill to do away with imprisonment for debt, the reverend successors of those who delivered Scotland from the tyranny of Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Sharp, should just begin to drag Presbyterians to jail for a hateful tax. The ministers and their advisers, probably, believed that he would not go to jail. Fortunately, they mistook their man. In giving him the highest triumph a citizen can enjoy, they have, as he says, bidden good night to the annuity tax.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

THE MARQUIS OF CHANDOS IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. ROBERT WRIGHT called in, and examined.

(Concluded from p. 314, No. 5.)

Do you think it would be possible to enforce it?.. No, I do not think it would, except there were a police-officer stationed in the house all day.

Do you think any police-officer could prevent another person in another name having a house opposite, and there inviting people to come in and drink, and even keeping a skittle ground in his own garden?.. Certainly not; they may do any thing if they are not public-houses.

You said that you thought it would prevent these evils, if the houses were

rated 15*l.* per annum; do you know any respectable public-houses that are rated at less than 15*l.* per annum?.. I do not know any respectable public-houses; the one in my own parish is rated at 30*l.*

Do you know how many houses in your parish are rated at 15*l.* a year?.. There are four.

Do those four houses belong to persons that would be likely to open their houses for the sale of beer?.. No, I do not think they would.

Then you would exclude from your parish entirely any other beer-shop?.. It does not follow that a man of capital might not build a house that would be worth 15*l.* a year.

Do you not think that if the people that keep beer-shops were compelled to brew their own beer in their own houses, that that would insure a more respectable class holding those beer-shops?.. It certainly would, because they must have a larger house to do it in.

Are the excise officers, to the best of your knowledge, in the habit of visiting those beer-houses?.. Never.

Have any informations been laid before your bench by excise officers, touching the illegal selling of spirits in the beer-houses?.. About two years ago there were two instances where informations were laid for persons selling spirits, where they only took out a license for beer.

With reference to what scale is it that you fix upon 15*l.* a year as the proper amount of qualification for setting up a beer-house?.. Fifteen pounds a year in the country would produce such a house that no person but of respectable character would live in. In the first place, on account of the rent he would have to pay for it, and he must have some little property to furnish it.

Are you not aware that in the country villages, there is a great difference between the north and south of England?.. I cannot say; in many places I believe they almost give houses away.

How many inhabited houses are there in your villages?.. I should think about 36 or 37.

How many of those pay 15*l.* a year to the poor-rate?.. About five or six.

What proportion of the persons that now keep beer-shops would be excluded by limiting it to 15*l.*?.. I think it would exclude a very great proportion of them.

Would it not exclude nine-tenths at least?.. Eight-tenths I should think.

What is the real value of the greater part of the public-houses in the country districts?.. It is not the value of the house, but the value of selling the beer and the spirits that raises them.

Your proposition is, that no man shall take out a license to sell beer by retail unless he shall be in the occupation of a house of the value of 15*l.* a year; supposing that the rule were applied to the public-houses throughout England, how many of the present public-houses do you think would be disfranchised?.. Not one; speaking of the public-houses as distinguished from the beer-houses.

How would you propose to deal with the existing beer-houses which are rated at a less sum than 15*l.* a year?.. I would take my pen and scratch them out.

Are you not aware that there are many houses under 15*l.* a year, upon which the occupiers have expended some capital in fitting them up as beer-shops?.. No; I do not think there is a single house that 20*l.* has been expended upon.

Is not 20*l.* a considerable sum for the occupier of a house worth 40*s.* a year?.. Where that sum has been expended, I take it that that has generally been expended by the brewer; I look to the character of the people that keep them, and I look to the means that they have; that they must either have borrowed the money, or the money must have come from the brewer.

Will it not in many cases lead to their total ruin, in a pecuniary sense, to destroy those beer-shops?.. No, I do not think it would.

Do you think that the people have in many cases a larger capital than 20*l.*?.. I do not think they have any thing; there may occasionally be a man whose

house is his own, but the greatest part of them have not expended 20*l.*, or 10*l.*, or 5*l.*

You have stated that there are some cases in which they have expended 20*l.* upon their premises, and that there are very few cases in which they possess a capital of 20*l.*, does it not follow that the less capital they possess, the more likely the loss of that 20*l.* is to ruin them?.. Not at all.

Supposing the remedy you propose was adopted, of granting a license to no person to keep a beer-house unless he was in the occupation of a house rated at 15*l.* a year, would there be any objection to placing the licensed inns and alehouses upon the same footing with the beer-shops?.. No, I do not think there would, except that the magistrates have already power enough.

Would not there be this advantage resulting from that regulation, that the public-houses would be more likely to be kept by a respectable body of persons, and that the supply of the public-houses would be more likely to be regulated by the demand that the public wants would create?.. Yes; they would be better supplied, and better order would be observed.

Would not this other advantage arise, that the intervention of a justice of the peace would be rendered altogether unnecessary in the selection and licensing of the ale-houses?.. I think the justice of the peace would be hardly ever called in.

You are aware that the fines go to the county rates, what would be the effect if these fines went to the parish rates; would that have the effect of making the parish officers look vigilantly after the beer-houses?.. No, I do not think it would.

If they were given to the informer would it have that effect?.. No, it is a bonus for swearing.

You are aware that a settlement is gained by a person having a house of 10*l.* a year, what do you think would be the effect of making the amount of rate necessary for a beer-house 10*l.* instead of 15*l.*?.. I think that 10*l.* would obviate most of the objections.

At present there is only one surety in 20l., or two sureties of 10l. each, what would be the effect of having two sureties in 20l. each, and combining that with requiring that the house should be rated at 10l a year?.. Having acted as a magistrate for 30 years, I do not think I ever saw a surety called upon.

Do you think a certificate of character is of any value?.. Yes, I think it is.

Do you think that a certificate of character signed by a certain number of the rated inhabitants of the parish, or the circumjacent parishes, would be of advantage?.. No, I should be sorry to see it, because, when certificates of that description were brought forward, there has been a great deal of canvassing.

Have you also heard of fees given to parish officers for the purposes of obtaining their certificate?.. I cannot say that.

Is it your opinion, that *if a better police were established*, those beer-houses might exist?.. I do not think you can establish *any good system of police that the parishes could pay*.

If an effective system of police were established, could not such a police keep those houses in order?.. Certainly, if the law, as it at present exists, were carried into effect in all its bearings, it would do a great deal to remedy the evil, but there is *nobody to put it into force*; I think, if it were put into force, there would be *a great many broken heads*, and a great deal of ill-will.

In the convictions you have made of beer sellers, what proportion of the penalty have you awarded to informers?.. Nothing at all.

From the **LONDON GAZETTE**,

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

LOFIELD, W., Hosier-lane, Smithfield, and St. John-street-road, carpenter.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HARLTON, C. P., Stourton, Wiltshire, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNARD, J., Bristol, dealer in horses.
 DUDDERIDGE, J., Whitechapel, woollen-draper.
 HORNER, W., Stamford, Lincolnshire, inn-keeper.
 RAWLINSON, E., St. Helen's, Lancashire, alum-manufacturer.
 TAYLOR, H., Bristol, ship-broker.
 WHITMARSH, M., Wantage, Berkshire, corn-dealer.
 WOOD, L., Tabernacle-walk, and Eltham, Kent, cowkeeper.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

LUCAS, J., City-road, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

DELCROIX, Z., New Bond-street, milliner.
 DENNIS, T. George - road, Bermondsey, grocer.
 EYLES, H. R., Canterbury, hatter.
 HICKSON, A., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, grocer.
 LLOYD, W., Union - street, Southwark, grocer.
 PACKER, W., sen., Woolaston, Gloucestershire, tanner.
 PERRIN, W., jun., Kingswood, Wiltshire, dyer.
 PITT, T. B., Brighton, surgeon.
 ROWE, J., jun., Devonport, tailor.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

ALLAN, W., Paisley, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Aug. 19.—The supplies of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, have been moderate. Several samples were of this year's growth, and though some proved fine, yet the generality were only of middling quality, and not unaccompanied with *smut*. The selected parcels realized rather more money than on Monday, say in some instances 1s. per qr., and the secondary descriptions, with a fair demand, were firm at the previous currency. Very fine parcels were worth 64s., though the runs would not have obtained more than 57s. to 59s. In bonded Wheat nothing doing.

Barley was in limited supply, and prices of Monday last fully supported.

Malt dull and unaltered in price.

Oats were in good supply. The trade ruled steady, with a moderate retail demand, on the terms of this day se'night.

Old Beans continue scarce, and good hard quality were worth 1s. to 2s. more money.

White Peas were dull, notwithstanding the purchases for the completion of the Government contract. In Maple and Grey no variation.

Flour experienced a moderate demand at former prices.

Wheat	58s. to 64s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley	24s. to 26s.
— fine	26s. to 30s.
Peas, White	31s. to 34s.
— Boilers	38s. to 42s.
— Grey	30s. to 33s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	30s. to 33s.
Oats, Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	16s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 52s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new ...	60s. to 62s. 6d. per barrel
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	74s. to 75s.
— Limerick ..	75s. to 76s.
— Waterford ..	74s. to 76s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, August 19.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs was great: the supply of Calves good, and that of Porkers limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

A full moiety of the Beasts were short-horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; full three-eighths about equal numbers of Devons, Welch runts, Herefords and Irish Beasts, chiefly from the above-mentioned and others of our northern and midland, with a few from our western districts; and the remainder Scots, intermixed with a few Norfolk home-breds, chiefly from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; about 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Suffolk Beasts, Staffords, &c., chiefly from the London marshes, Surrey, and Kent.

At least four-sixths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter: about a sixth South Downs; and the remaining sixth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, polled Norfolks, Kents and Kentish half-breds, with a few old Lincolns, horned Norfolks and Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs appeared to consist of about equal numbers of South Downs and new Leicesters—the latter chiefly of the Downish cross, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

Neither the Sheep nor Beasts, though greatly improved in quality since the commencement of the month, were, generally speaking, near so ripe as at the corresponding period of the generality of years.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 23.

The arrivals this week are small. The prices as high as on Monday.

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